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Comment

Incorporating Empire

THE KENYA LANDS

THE National Executive Committee of the Labour Party has now made up its mind on the Kenya lands. This problem, which is urgent and acute, is not susceptible of easy solution. Disputes over ownership of land are the natural consequence of historically recent settlement coupled with the subsequent expansion of the tribal groups concerned—they arise frequently even in West Africa, where non-African immigration has not taken place: how much more easily in Kenya, where immigration has been officially encouraged, and where the Government itself made it into a racial issue by setting aside certain lands for exclusively European settlement. The 'White' Highlands may not be settled by Africans or by Asians—they are Crown lands, held on leases which run up to 999 years by some 3,000 European farmers, and the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1938 makes apartheid effective in a section which lays down that

'There shall by virtue of this Ordinance be implied in every lease granted to a European . . . a covenant that he shall not without the consent of the Governor in Council appoint or allow a non-European to be a manager or otherwise to occupy or be in control of the land leased.'

Whatever may be thought of the rights and wrongs of the innumerable claims and counter-claims over the boundaries of the land thus set aside (which it was hoped would be settled finally by the Carter Commission of 1933), it is clear that both continuance of the present system and its abolition involve injustice to someone. Europeans who have settled in the Highlands were deliberately encouraged to go there, they have been allowed to develop land on the guarantee that it would be their's, they bring up their children as citizens of Kenya, and they cannot settle elsewhere in Kenya in lands reserved to Africans. The African majority, on the other hand, do not understand the conception of Crown land, which is a peculiar product of British political development, are over-crowded in

their own areas, and see only a simple issue that land in a country which they consider to be their's is handed over to immigrants.¹ In the background is a substantial community of Asians, at present debarred from settlement like the Jews in mediæval Europe, who present a problem in some respects similar to that of the Chinese in Malaya.

The Kenya African Union's petition for the total repeal of the Crown Lands Ordinance received short shrift from Mr. Lennox-Boyd, but it must in fairness be added that successive Labour Ministers did not adopt that solution. They concentrated instead on the larger issue of improving African methods of agriculture in the African areas, bearing in mind that the 'White' highlands make an economic contribution to the country without which it could not function at its present level. The policy of efficient land utilisation does not in itself remove the main issue. Sometimes it involves moving Africans from one area to another, thus confirming the suspicion that even their present lands may not be safe. But it does offer a possible way out. Many European farms are far too large to be properly cultivated (the average size has recently been calculated as over 2,000 acres), and an agricultural policy comparable to that pursued in this country would, if enforced, remove many undeveloped acres from the control of their present holders. This land could be used, again under strict control, for African settlement, provided that the Highlands Board abandoned its present administrative practice of leasing land only to Europeans. Such a policy is considered by the National Executive of the Party to be a more positive approach than 'to continue sterile controversies about tribal claims to land.' It should be combined with vigorous encouragement of producers' co-operatives and provision of credit for agricultural purposes. Such a policy was urged by the

¹ See *Land Hunger in Kenya*, by Mbiyu Koinange, Union of Democratic Control, 6d.

Bureau in 1949, when the official reply¹ outlined the land utilisation policy adopted by the Kenya Government. It is time the results of that policy were subjected to full review and that the Highlands question was reconsidered. Kenya is to discuss next year the whole question of political representation and constitutional advance. At present, there seems little likelihood that the discussions will result in any agreed proposals. Africans believe that it is the political dominance of the Europeans which prevents a solution of the problem which is nearer to their hearts than any political issue, and are consequently inclined to advocate African dominance instead. As long as the Kenya Government persists in a land policy based on racial claims rather than on the proper use of land, the African view is quite reasonable. A change now would enable all the affairs of the Colony to be conducted in a different atmosphere.

NIGERIA'S ECONOMY

THE first Nigerian Ministers to visit this country, Mr. Nwapa and Mr. Arikpo, are determined to do everything possible to raise the productivity of their country, and to take full responsibility for the methods. 'The economic policy of my Government depends upon decisions taken by my colleagues and myself in the Council of Ministers,' said Mr. Nwapa to his first press conference, 'Naturally we weigh carefully advice tendered to us by the officials of the Colonial Office, but we have gained the right, which we intend to exercise, to decide our own policy and to pursue it.' Already, they have intimated that Nigeria will help Lancashire if Lancashire helps Nigeria: Japanese cotton can be excluded if Britain can supply at prices Nigerians can afford to pay and deliver on time—the new Government cannot run the risk of a shortage of consumer goods at the time the Marketing Boards are paying out to the farmers. This is a fair offer, and indicates that the Nigerian Government will—like any other Government—do its best for its people, but is also conscious of the needs of the sterling area as a whole. It is pursuing a similar positive approach in its attitude to foreign investment. Its new Pioneer Industries legislation gives initial tax relief to public companies intending to open up a factory or a mine for pioneer products—that is, enterprises not at present carried on at a commercial scale 'suitable to the economic requirements or development of Nigeria.' Its Lead-Zinc Act, which establishes terms on which foreign capital may come in to develop the mineral deposits of Ogoja, lays down the proportion of shares in the new company

which must be offered for subscription by Nigerian investors, and conditions for training Nigerian employees. These, and other decisions, require prior Government planning. It is the Governor in Council who decides whether a company will be granted a 'pioneer' certificate for its projected enterprise, and the Governor-in-Council who will appoint a director to the Mines Development Syndicate. This kind of decision immediately raises the basic question of the machinery of Government planning. At present, it hardly exists, and, in the conditions of the country, it might not function very effectively if it did exist. But some guidance is necessary, and an enquiry should be made into the best means of utilising the resources at present available. Nigeria has a good start, owing to the constructive work carried out in the last seven years—the disposal of export crops is under public control, its largest plantation enterprise is publicly owned through the Cameroons Development Corporation, its coal, electricity and railways are nationalised. Its lead-zinc, too, might have been nationalised, had not losses been feared. At least these publicly-owned bodies could try to co-ordinate their demands on money and material, both with each other and with the Regional Development Boards which, together with the Marketing Boards and the Department of Commerce and Industries, make the total structure fairly complete. Much needs to be done to secure a reasonable revenue return from individual taxation, and undoubtedly statistical data will be inadequate for several years to come. But Nigeria already has the makings of a good planning system, and the approach of the new Ministers gives every confidence that the start will be made.

SOLLY SACHS

INEVITABLY, the South African wheel has revolved far enough to reach the trade union movement. Solly Sachs, Secretary-General of the Garment Workers' Union, has been 'named' as a Communist under the Suppression of Communism Act, suspended from holding office in his Union, and arrested after defying orders to refrain from making public speeches. This attack reveals how unreal it is to regard the present turmoil in South Africa as a purely racial issue. Mr. Sachs's Union has for years organised White and Coloured workers in the garment industry, and includes so many Afrikaners that each number of its journal repeats the same items, including the cover, in both English and Afrikaans. White, Black and Coloured South Africans have joined in protests at this arrest, led by the South African Trades and Labour

¹ Published in *Venture*, January, 1950.

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SOCIALIST HEART-SEARCHINGS

WITH the new world, New Fabian Essays.¹ They differ from the old, which held the field from 1889 to 1948, in two major respects. First, the 'old' Fabians, with some notable exceptions, were empiricists who, in Mr. Crossman's words, 'repudiated socialist theory as dangerous Teutonic verbiage.' Secondly, they lived in a world which—viewed from Britain—seemed to have a fair path of progress opening before it. The 'new' Fabians know better. They have seen the destruction of German democracy, the perversion of the Soviet Revolution, the downfall of the League of Nations; they see now a world divided by the 'cold' war, in which neither centre of power, American or Soviet, can command the support of Socialists nurtured in the British tradition. Small wonder that they feel for a new theory of action. Not that they expound a 'new' philosophy of Socialism—philosophies do not spring, like Athena, fully armed from the head of Zeus. They grow. But Mr. Crossman, in his introductory essay, does dispose of some of the illusions which comforted all British thinkers, including Socialists, sixty years ago. And he does try to place us in a world setting. The *Essays*, therefore, although this first volume contains no essay on colonial problems, should be of great interest to colonial readers, for colonial politics are still dominated by many of the ghosts of the nineteenth century.

The *Essays* remind us that the concept of equality, which has provided the inspiration of all socialist movements, has in Britain been interpreted as the equality of *individuals*—not of classes, of nations, of races—but of individual people. It is this central interpretation which exposes many of the panaceas in which the under-privileged are always tempted to put their faith. Knowledge? Civilisation? Self-determination? Democracy? Will they make us better people? Not necessarily—'Civilisation,' says Mr. Crossman, 'does not make us morally better, any more than democracy makes us use our liberty.' Social, as opposed to individual, changes take place, but 'most historical changes,' Mr. Healy points out in his essay on *Power Politics*, 'are morally neutral.' Yet it is moral standards that Socialists seek to establish. We cannot establish them if we either succumb to pessimism or lull ourselves into complacency with the determinist doctrine that history is on our side

—'Social morality, freedom and equality do not grow by any law of economics or politics, but only with the most careful cultivation.' The Socialist must cultivate unceasingly, and for the individual.

He must beware particularly of the danger of mere collectivism, which may, and almost certainly will, degenerate into a managerial society unless prevented by the force of social conscience. It is at this point that Mr. Crossman's argument becomes most relevant to colonial areas. The check of social conscience has been operative in Western Europe and America where standards of individual liberty have come, over a period of centuries, to command public respect. It has not been allowed to operate in the Soviet Union, with frightening consequences. Can it either grow or be effective in the countries which we now habitually describe as 'under-developed'? And what will happen to them if rapid economic expansion takes place before the conception of individual liberty has taken root? There the masses 'can be modernised (taught to drive tractors, fly aeroplanes and worship Stalin) without any democratic liberation.' Certainly they can. It is the Socialist's job to see that they aren't.

Here Mr. Crossman is in danger of going astray. He expects the social revolution to break out in anti-democratic form—i.e. under Communist leadership—because he thinks that democracy cannot provide the vehicle of social change. Democratic institutions, he argues, put a premium on the natural conservatism of the masses. 'To impose modern democracy on a feudal or primitive social structure . . . merely provides the ruling groups with an instrument for preserving their privileges.' Steeped as he is in the European tradition, and deeply shocked by conditions in the Middle East, Mr. Crossman has condensed and generalised his arguments until he appears to condemn both democracy and nationalism in backward countries, and thus to detach himself from the ideas which at present inspire very large numbers of colonial leaders who, he considers, are predominantly motivated by the desire to use in their own interests the power transferred by the white man.

But all colonial and semi-colonial countries are not alike. Democracy may be a sham in Persia (it is noteworthy that all Mr. Crossman's examples are actually drawn from non-colonial countries), but we have as yet no experience of super-imposing

¹ Turnstile Press, 15s. Edited by R. H. S. Crossman, M.P.

the structure of modern democracy on a *primitive* society. 'The tribesman in Nigeria,' says Mr. Crossman, 'does not want either liberty, equality and fraternity, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. He is below the level of such political aspirations.' But there are many 'tribesmen' in Nigeria, and they differ. What if the 'tribesman' lives in an Udi village, equipped with its co-operative maternity home, its co-operative shop, its school supported by co-operative collections, its palm oil sold to a public marketing board, its land owned by the people themselves? The 'tribesman' has just voted for representation in the regional and national legislatures; he will soon choose his men for new village, district and county councils. He has never heard of the proletariat or of class war, but neither has he been tyrannised by landlords and chiefs. He has a tradition of democracy of his own, even if it is primitive. Can he not add to all this the concept of individual liberty? Even the African field, shadowed though it is by the danger of racial and nationalist hysteria, presents a more encouraging prospect to the Socialist than Mr. Crossman would have us believe.

Nor is Asia as black as it is painted. There are differences there too. Communist determinism may have captured China, where materialism was already deeply embedded in the people's own culture. But will democracy fail in India? Surely it is an over-simplification to imply that it stands a better chance there primarily because of 'indoctrination' by Britain? India has powerful sources of inspiration of its own to pit against totalitarianism, and it is very early to assume that they will not win the day. Moreover, the Communists have betrayed the *nationalist* revolution in Asia, and it is therefore no accident that all the newly-independent countries have come into conflict with them. They would stand a better chance now if democratic institutions *had* been established by the imperial powers, but they were not. True, there were representative institutions, but they represented only tiny minorities, and they never penetrated deep down into local government. The Indians and Burmese were left to do for themselves what is now being done by colonial Governments in Africa. Struggling as they are against the Communists and the remnants of feudalism inherited from the old régimes, it would seem unduly pessimistic to assume that the battle for a social conscience to civilise the modernisers has already been lost. In Africa, the battle has hardly begun. Given the habits of working democratic institutions, the tradition established by the missionaries, the strength of people who have not lost their land, and given time for these forces to

become effective, Africa may yet surprise those who see democracy through European eyes.

The dangers that Mr. Crossman sees are certainly there, but there is also an opportunity which he appears not to see—it is that Western Socialists themselves may indeed have much to gain from working together with the colonial peoples. Mr. Strachey points to the obvious necessity to assist them in economic development. But they may also fertilise our own Socialist thought—particularly in the co-operative methods which many of them are already using. But we must, if the collaboration is to be real, recognise that their concentration on national and racial status is a political fact of the first order which cannot be ignored or set aside. We have much to do in understanding their motivations, as they have in understanding ours. Our present weakness is summed up in another statement of Socialist principles,¹ published by Socialist Union:—

'With some exceptions, the democratic powers have been unimaginative in helping forward the great changes which are revolutionising these regions... Great schemes of World Mutual Aid are planned, but little emerges because we fight shy of sacrifices. Even socialists are unready to project the ideal of equality on to a world-wide scale. When help is offered, the personal approach is crude and inept, just because we have not learnt to respect fully the dignity of individuals of other races. To approach them in the spirit of fellowship requires that we should identify ourselves with their feelings... We have not yet explored—with some rare exceptions—how to apply socialism in international relations.'

In learning our lesson, it may be that we are facing our most stubborn and difficult struggle. If the colonial peoples are to face it on their side, we must run the risks of nationalism and democracy unless we are to incur the much graver disaster of racialism. In this way, we may perhaps be able to pass together Mr. Crossman's crucial test:—

'The test of socialism is the extent to which it shapes a people's institutions to the moral standards of freedom—even at the cost of a lower standard of living or the murder of an empire.'

After all, we have a world to win.

Marjorie Nicholson.

¹ *Socialism, A New Statement of Principles.* Lincolns-Prager, Ltd., London. 3s. Od.

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into Viet-Nam—if they did so, there would certainly be a nationalist reaction against them. Nor have they intervened in Burma. Altogether, I feel that the Chinese show none of the obvious signs of expansionism that might be expected before a general flare-up. If this is so, Malaya has the opportunity to build on the new foundations that are now being laid.

THE CHINESE IMPACT ON MALAYA*

by Victor Purcell, C.M.G., Litt.D., Ph.D.

IT is impossible to understand what is going on in Asia to-day without realising that the expansion of the West into Asia is a recent development of historically very short duration. Only in the last 100 years has there been European penetration in the modern sense.

The reactions of the Asian countries to this penetration differed, but in general a fatalistic acceptance prevailed. In 1900, the Dutch were firmly in the saddle in Indonesia, the French had fairly recently come to Indo-China, Britain was opening up a largely uninhabited country in Malaya. China was suffering one of its periodic phases of stagnation—so powerless to resist foreign penetration that its army officers were still set promotion tests in archery as late as 1895. Only Japan created a modern industrial state, and it was Japan's success against the Russians at the beginning of this century which provided the psychological starting-point of the nationalist upsurge in Asia.

In China, nationalism grew more slowly. The fall of the dynasty in 1911 was the collapse of an obsolete régime rather than a revolution, and Sun Yat-Sen's Three Principles were formulated subsequently, under the influence of Western liberal, and later socialist and communist, thought. Sun Yat-Sen laid down that nationalism must precede internationalism, and that the new country must be democratic—that is, after a period of Kuomintang tutelage. The Kuomintang failed to fuse these two principles with the third, that of livelihood, or economics, and left the landlords and capitalists in control. The real Revolution in China is therefore taking place, and because of the mistaken American policy of intervention from 1945-49, it is in hostility to Western ideas as well as to Western domination.

Chinese overseas expansion is not new, but its character has changed. The Chinese have been going down to South-east Asia in sporadic waves since long before the Europeans arrived. But with the coming of European power, they were encouraged to enter and develop new areas. They came to make money, with the intention of returning to China, but many of them stayed. In the last fifty years, they have more and more brought their families with them, and have thus developed a social life of their own, cut off from the indigenous populations. They have been influenced by the development of nationalism in China itself, where a group of Irredentists in the Kuomin-tang referred with pride and hope to the old boundaries of the Chinese empire. Consequently, anti-Chinese feeling in South-east Asia is a modern growth. In the old days the immigrants were usually assimilated within three generations.

The Chinese settlements differ in important respects from country to country. Burma has a population of 19m., of which only 4m. are Chinese. In the Indonesian population of 70m., there are less than 2m. Chinese. In Siam there are 3-4m. Chinese, a fifth of the total population at least; in the Federation of Malaya they constitute nearly half the population. Within the Chinese groups, there are again great variations. Those who have been several generations removed from China—such as the 'Queen's Chinese' in Penang and Malacca—may wear Chinese dress and look like Chinese, but they have no real links with China. Despite their numbers, the Chinese in Malaya do not constitute a single integrated community.

Under pre-war rule the significance of the presence of the Chinese was not grasped. Malaya was prosperous compared with surrounding countries, and apparently content. Official policy was to treat Malaya as an exclusively Malay country, ignoring the Chinese. Anyone who saw what was going on in China, and who had any historical sense, must have known that this could not last. But the administration was in the grip of a tradition which it had itself created.

In 1874, when the first treaty with Perak was signed, there were not more than 400,000 Malays in what is now the Federation, clinging to the coast and the fringes of the jungle. The position of the Sultans was precarious until British intervention stopped the constant civil wars of the peninsula. They now became the symbols of a Malay traditionalism which was exaggerated and fortified by the British system of administration. Despite the increasing numbers of non-Malays entering the country to open up the new plantations and mines, government was conducted on the theory that nothing had changed since 1874—this was a Malay country, and always would be; the administration (while it admitted Chinese in their hundreds of thousands) was protecting the Malays against the invasion of the 'foreigner.' Few officials learnt Chinese, and those who did so condemned themselves to a specialist career. Even today, the administration is largely unable to speak to half the people of Malaya in their own language.

With the Japanese invasion, the internal situation in Malaya changed over night. From 1943 till the end of the war, arms were supplied to the Chinese guerillas, and they were accepted as allies—had this agreement not been made, the 'Emergency' which broke out in 1948 might well have occurred in 1945, that is, before Malaya had made any economic and political recovery. Since 1948, the situation has again been changed by the establishment of Communist rule in China and the attempt of the Communist régime to re-establish the old Chinese borders. This they have done in Tibet, but they have not sent 'volunteers'

* Condensed from the speech delivered by Dr. Purcell at the Fabian Colonial and International Bureaux Conference held on June 9.

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FACT

PROBLEMS OF PLANTATION LABOUR—II

We give below the second part of a summary of two reports on plantation labour published by the International Labour Office. The first part was printed in the June 1951 number of 'Venture.'

Workers' Housing

It was recommended that the employers should be responsible for providing housing for resident workers, that a minimum standard should be established by legislation of two rooms for husband and wife with one or more children, and that unaccompanied workers should have one room each. Social relations should not be restricted by occupation of a house and reasonable time should be given to a resident worker to vacate his house, when discharged. If an amicable arrangement could be not reached on this point, the question should be referred to the civil courts.

The I.L.O. was also asked in the resolution to investigate means of assisting the promotion of cheap housing schemes for plantation workers.

Supply of Food, Clothing and Other Necessities

Here the Committee recommended that workers should be given all facilities for the organisation and operation of co-operative stores; that employers should ensure adequate supplies at a fair and reasonable price without exacting profit; and that the I.L.O., in collaboration with other specialised agencies and Governments should make an enquiry into the level of nutrition of plantation workers.

Education and Training

There was general agreement on the Sub-committee that adequate educational facilities should be provided for the children of plantation workers. On the Workers' side, it was urged that existing facilities were inadequate; the Employers maintained that the responsibility for education rested with the state. Vocational training and adult education were also stressed, though the Employers pointed out that the provision of vocational training for estate children would enable them to secure employment outside the estates. In the resolution that was passed, Governments were asked to provide and maintain educational facilities and where State education was not a possibility, employers and public authorities should collaborate, financially and otherwise, to provide schools and staff for children and illiterate adults. Vocational training should be linked to employment opportunities in the country concerned.

Health and Social Security

On this question the Workers' representatives em-

phasised the need for comprehensive social security schemes for plantation workers, but knowing that these would be beyond the scope of the countries, urged that at least compensation for employment injuries, maternity care, medical care and sickness allowances should be ensured. The Employers' side argued that health questions were the responsibility of the state but admitted that they accepted some responsibility on account of the geographical location of estates. The resolution passed urged the provision by employers of free medical services to resident workers and their families and dispensary facilities for non-resident workers; and that legislation should be passed, or extended, to cover employment injuries and maternity protection. Medicinal foods for workers and children should be supplied to counteract malnutrition, either free or at special rates. Where no Government pension schemes existed, contributory provident funds should be introduced. Finally, the I.L.O. should undertake a study of the health and social security services on plantations and bring forward proposals for a future session of the Committee.

Industrial Relations

Workers' representatives pointed out the restrictions that were placed by employers and certain Governments on the free organisation and development of trade unionism among plantation workers. They urged that the Freedom of Association and the Right to Organise Convention, 1948, should be ratified by Governments and applied by employers, that workers' and employers' organisations should be recognised by both sides and machinery set up for regular meetings; that employers should provide office accommodation on plantations for the use of unions. The Employers pointed out that trade unions on plantations were often influenced by political motives and did not concentrate on industrial affairs. The resolution, adopted by 41 votes with 11 abstentions, recommended the organisation of free, independent and democratically-controlled trade unions with free accommodation, freedom to hold meetings and freedom of entry, and that such unions should be recognised as competent to negotiate on all matters affecting mutual relations. Further, it was resolved that Governments should assist in the development of workers' and employers' organisations, encourage collective bargaining and try to create conditions under which the ratification of the relevant international labour Convention would be possible.

Labour Inspection

It was recognised that adequate inspection machinery is essential to the enforcement of labour and other legislation applicable to plantations. The

Committee recommended the establishment and maintenance by Governments of a system of inspection adapted to the special needs of the Plantation industry. In most of the territories there are Labour Departments and inspections are carried out by their officials. In addition there are inspections by health, sanitary and medical officers and sometimes education officers. But the result of the analysis of information available shows that in most areas inspection is seriously understaffed. For instance, India submits that on plantation estates inspections are carried out every two years, Pakistan inspects factories only every two years. There is an inspection every year in Malaya, Northern Rhodesia, Jamaica, Réunion and Togoland. Twice a year, inspections are carried out in the Philippines, North Borneo, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, India (factories), Madagascar, French Cameroons and Equatorial Africa. Every month there are inspections in Mauritius (factories), St. Vincent and the Leeward Islands.

Inspection should cover all phases of conditions of work and the provisions in contracts of employment, wages, hours of work, housing, sanitation, health, welfare, women and child labour, the issue of rations where applicable, the investigation of complaints and disputes. At present the duties of inspectors are often limited. It is also necessary that workers and their representatives should be given every facility for meeting freely without victimisation. Another comment points out that on isolated plantations where there is the greatest need for adequate and frequent inspection services, such services are the least well-developed. Whilst the development of trade unionism is essential, for some considerable time the chief instrument of enforcement of regulations will be government inspection.

Employment Conditions of Salaried Staff

It was recommended that a special study be made by the I.L.O. of living and working conditions of junior technical, clerical, medical and educational staff.

Procedure for Securing Consideration of the Committee's Conclusions

It was unanimously agreed that the Committee on Work on Plantations should adopt the principles followed by the Industrial Committees to secure, within the framework of the I.L.O., consideration of the special problems of plantation workers, i.e.

1. The I.L.O. will communicate to the Governments the conclusions adopted, together with the observations of the Governing Body regarding these conclusions.
 2. In order to secure effective consideration for the resolutions, the Governing Body suggests to the Governments—
 - (a) That the resolutions be examined by the competent authorities with a view to determining what action, if any, the Government might take;
- (b) that the Governments communicate the resolutions through the recognised channels (that is to say, through the national central organisations of employers and workers, where such organisations exist) to employers' and workers' representatives;
- (c) that the organisations be asked by the Governments to give their views on the resolutions and to indicate, where appropriate, what action they propose to take;
- (d) that in the light of these consultations the Governments forward to the Office, nine months before the next session of the Committee, statements setting out the position in their respective countries on the matters dealt with in the resolutions, including details of any action taken or which it is proposed to take.
3. The Office to bring this information to the notice of the Plantations Committee at its next session.

LABOUR DEPARTMENTS

In reply to a Parliamentary question on June 11, the Minister of State said that in all British dependencies in Africa there are Labour Departments, except Zanzibar and Somaliland. In Zanzibar the senior Commissioner acts as Labour Commissioner. All heads of Labour Departments are either administrative officers 'with suitable local experience and aptitude' or men sent out from the United Kingdom with experience in labour administration or in the trade union movement. They advise Governments on trade union and labour matters. The aims and duties of their Departments are:

- (a) Advice to Government on labour matters generally.
- (b) The encouragement of collective bargaining and where necessary the institution of statutory wage fixing machinery.
- (c) The study of existing labour organisations and unions and advice on principles of organisation and collective bargaining.
- (d) The improvement of industrial relations by maintaining constant contact with employers and workers and providing all possible help in conciliating the parties to trade disputes.
- (e) The introduction of regular and systematic inspection of all work places with a view to establishing healthy and decent conditions and reducing accidents to a minimum.
- (f) The protection of women and juvenile workers.
- (g) The enforcement of labour laws.
- (h) Periodical review of labour laws in relation to international labour conventions.
- (i) The introduction and supervision of workmen's compensation schemes.
- (j) The introduction of public employment exchanges where necessary.
- (k) The collection and publication of statistics on various matters connected with labour.

Activities of the Bureau

South-east Asia Conference

A joint Conference with the Fabian International Bureau was held on June 7. Mr. James Griffiths, M.P., emphasised the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease in South-east Asia, which were common to the whole region, and referred specifically to the attempts under the Labour Government to build up a unified administration in Malaya. Miss Dorothy Woodman spoke of the nationalist upsurge in all the territories concerned, the conditioning of their economic development by the needs of the imperial powers, and the attempts at co-operative development being made in Burma and Indonesia. Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, M.P., suggested that Malaya should be removed from the control of the Colonial Office and placed under that of the Commonwealth Relations or Foreign Offices, that it should have a political High Commissioner—not a career civil servant or soldier, however able, and that elections for Legislative Council should be held as soon as possible, if necessary on a communal basis. The last suggestion was attacked in the discussion. Dr. Victor Purcell spoke on Chinese nationalism and its impact on the whole area and deplored the concentration of the pre-war Malayan Civil Service on the problems of the Malays to the exclusion of other communities. The meeting was well attended.

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Nigerian Ministers On June 10, a meeting was arranged at their request for the Hon. O. Arikpo and the Hon. A. Nwapa to have an informal discussion on problems of economic planning in Nigeria. It was attended by some members of the Bureau's Advisory Committee particularly interested in West Africa and by a number of economists. Mr. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., was in the Chair.

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Co-operatives in Asia The Co-operative Party has published a pamphlet, *New Hope in Asia*, written by Lady Selwyn-Clarke, Assistant Secretary of the Bureau. Dealing with the achievements and problems of co-operative movements in Asia, the pamphlet has been written 'in the hope that the great movement in this country . . . will respond to the needs of Asia.' Obtainable from the Co-operative Party, 56, Victoria Street, S.W.1, price 1s., or from the Fabian Bookshop.

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Tom Cook M.P. The Labour movement has suffered a loss in the death of Mr. Tom Cook, Member of Parliament for Dundee East, who has been killed in a motor-car accident. Mr. Cook's death is also a loss to the colonial movements. Before entering Parliament in

1945, he had worked hard, as a member of the India League, for the cause of Indian independence. In 1950 he became Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which office he took a special interest in colonial labour problems. Shortly before his death he joined the Bureau's Advisory Committee, and it is with deep regret that we report that his useful work has been so tragically cut short.

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American Point Four

On April 28 a small meeting of Members of Parliament and others was called at short notice and addressed by Mr. David Williams, International Secretary of Americans for Democratic Action. A welcome innovation was the attendance of members of the London chapter of A.D.A. Mr. Williams described the growing interest of the American public in the development of under-developed territories, and raised some questions of principle, such as the preponderance of American money in U.N. funds for this purpose. A report of Mr. Williams' speech will be published in a future number of *Venture*.

Continued from page 2.

Council and the South African Labour Party, who claim that it is for trade unions themselves to decide who their officers will be. Indeed, under the 'naming' procedure, all sorts of people are unsafe. Mr. Sachs himself deviated from the Communist Party years ago, but the Act covers any person 'who professes or has at any time before or after the commencement of this Act professed to be a Communist, or who, after having been given a reasonable opportunity of making such representations as he may consider necessary is deemed by the Governor-General to be a Communist on the ground that he is advocating, advising, defending or encouraging, or has at any time before or after the commencement of this Act, whether within or outside the Union, advocated, advised, defended or encouraged the achievement of any of the objects of Communism.' The 'objects of Communism,' it need hardly be added, are not defined. If anybody in Nationalist circles in South Africa tried to define the 'objects of Fascism,' bearing in mind past and particularly wartime records, he would not have to look far for suitable candidates for 'naming' of a different kind. But, of course, such an activity would be even less acceptable to Dr. Malan than trying to organise the garment workers across racial barriers.

COLONIAL OPINION . . .

A Kenya Election Address

The following extracts have been taken from the election address of Mr. Derek Erskine, a candidate in the Nairobi South constituency.

Leadership requires resolution and moral courage. The true leader, who aspires to lead a people along the difficult road to nationhood, must march in front and point the way. The right road will not always be the easy road. If the people always knew the right road to follow, and were willing to take that road on their own, they would not need leaders. The honest leader cannot wrap himself in cotton-wool against criticism. He must always be ready to warn the people of the pitfalls and dangers that beset the wrong road. During the past four years we have seen examples in Kenya of the absolute negation of leadership . . .

Do you believe that white settlers in Kenya can achieve self-government on their own—shake off the last vestiges of control from Britain and dominate over Africans and Asians? Such a notion is puerile poppy-cock. Apart from being impractical and unworkable, it contravenes Christian ethics, British ideas of liberty and fair play, and international agreements such as the Atlantic Charter . . .

Do you believe that we Kenya folk are crushed under an excessive burden of taxation? Our comparatively light taxation continues to attract an embarrassing flow of fugitive capital from overseas.

Do you want to get back to the 'good old days' in Kenya when maize was 7s. per bag and families could live comfortably on £30 per month?

Then I must remind you that those were the years of depression, the years of poverty and misery for many—bankrupt businesses, deserted farms, unemployment.

Full democracy will come, and full autonomy for our country, when we have earned it, not before. Full democracy is possible only when colour, race and religion are no longer political issues. When all men understand and acknowledge the fatherhood of God, then, and then only, will they understand and acknowledge the true brotherhood of man . . .

I look forward to the day—the distant day—when there will be one common electoral roll in Kenya.

We European settlers must, and we can, gain the confidence of the other races. Leadership implies a measure of agreement from those that are to be led. European elected members must demonstrate unmistakably to the British Parliament, to Asians, Arabs and Africans that they work for the good of all people in Kenya, and are not merely delegates sent to Legislative Council to 'safeguard the European position.'

Kenya settlers have done a great and worth-while

job in bringing European farming methods to the settled areas, and trade and industry to the towns; but they must also appreciate the great work done by public servants who have introduced *Pax Britannica* and maintained law and order and established embryo local government bodies and developed agriculture and village industry in the vast area of 200,000 square miles which surrounds the 15,000 square miles of the White Highlands.

Also, in the field of religion, education, and citizenship we must acknowledge the great work of the Christian missionaries.

We Kenya settlers have every right to strive for the honour of leading Kenya to full nationhood. We have no right to claim *Herrenvolk* supremacy or Fascist domination . . .

Should we allow the crazy anti-European campaign organised by a handful of no-account cranks in England to provoke us into uttering disloyal threats of secession from the Empire?

There are subversive elements in all three main communities in Kenya. My idea is to achieve a fine standard of patriotism and civic pride and absolute loyalty to our country and our city among our own community, and then we shall be in a better position to inculcate these virtues into the hearts and minds of our fellow-citizens of other races.

Then we shall be real leaders—leaders with a contented following, and shall see a United Kenya, advancing boldly to nationhood.

East Africa and Rhodesia, May 22, 1952.

(Note: Mr. Erskine was defeated by 358 votes by Mr. M. F. Harris, who was defeated by Mr. Erskine in 1948 by a heavy majority.—Ed.)

CORRECTION

We apologise for a mistake on page 8 in our June number. Mr. E. Muwamba, M.L.C., was included as a member of the 'unofficial' delegation from the Nyasaland African Congress. He was a member of the Nyasaland delegation officially invited by the Secretary of State to attend the London Conference on Central African Federation. Our misplaced headline deprived of its point the first two sentences of the extract given from Mr. Muwamba's speech.

Guide to Books

The British Commonwealth Since 1815, Volume I.

By C. H. Currey. (Angus and Robertson. 13/6.)

Britain and the Dominions.

By W. R. Brock. (Cambridge University Press.)

These are both general text-books, but on somewhat different lines. Dr. Currey's first volume has little that bears on the special interest of readers of *Ven-ture*; they will look forward to the second volume, which will deal with the non-self-governing territories, with special reference to developments of the past decade. The author regards Mr. Creech Jones as the most outstanding Colonial Secretary since Joseph Chamberlain (whom he exonerates from all connection with the Jameson Raid—in ignorance, of course, of the revelations made in the book just issued by Jean van der Poel).

Dr. Currey is a lecturer at Sydney University College, and the work is presumably intended in the first instance for his students. More than half the volume is devoted to the United Kingdom; the remainder deals in separate chapters with Australia and the other Dominions. There are some maps and portraits; the considerable list of errata is not exhaustive.

Dr. Brock has compressed into the same space a wider survey. This is an introductory volume to a series of histories of the Dominions intended for 'young students' throughout the Commonwealth: the well-chosen illustrations, the clear maps, and especially the vivid diagrams may be expected to appeal to the young, but the text is rather for mature students. In two respects it goes beyond what might be expected from the title. It includes some account of the dependent Empire—the Commonwealth must be seen not only as an association between the existing Dominions, but also as an association into which others may be incorporated—and it is more than a series of disconnected outline histories: by selecting those aspects of British history—not merely economic expansion and military conquest but constitutional theory and religious and moral ideas—which have most influenced the Commonwealth, and tracing their development stage by stage in all its diverse lands, he gives unity to the whole.

The Cambridge work is conscientiously objective: in controversial matters, such as the colour problem in South Africa, the balance is held even; but in general perhaps it tends to be tilted in the direction of complacency—in India, for instance, space is found for a full account (with minor criticisms) of the benefits of British rule, but none for darker episodes such as Amritsar; little appreciation is shown of the real racial problem in Malaya, 'Malaya for the Malays' being treated parallel with 'West Africa for the West Africans'; and the land problem of Kenya is ignored. The Australian author, on the other hand, is outspoken on the 'shocking blunders' of Amritsar and the 'old doctrine with the new name of Apartheid.'

E. E. Dodd.

Island of the Swan

By Michael Malim. (Longmans. 16s.)

This is an extremely well-written and most entertaining book on some aspects of life in Mauritius.

In 1948 the author and his wife landed on the island unheralded, unknown, with no other recommendations than their passports. They wandered from the customs house through the offices of their steamship company to second-rate hotels run by coloured gentlemen, to one bungalow at the sea and another, on a sugar estate, before sailing away after a year.

Mr. Malim's mind has registered with photographic definition everything he saw and heard—the places he visited and lived in, the people he met, their failings and oddities, life at the hotels, the hotel proprietors, their guests, their friends, their servants, what they all did and said, what he heard from one or two white 'aristocrats' casually met, a few social and public functions, where the Governor was expected every year but never came.

All this makes very good reading.

He touches very lightly and gives his views on political matters in the Island. He describes the anxieties of a small white population, descendants of the original French settlers, and of a large coloured population watching apprehensively the rising tide of a rapidly expanding Indian element now trying to dominate the other communities.

The book is not altogether flattering to Mauritius but it does not purport to show more than a very few facets of life in the Colony.

The author in being entertaining has not always been generous to his hosts, but in a book of this description this is a small matter more likely to be overlooked than resented.

The best chapters, if not the most diverting, deal with the time spent by the author in the company of the Mauritius poet—Robert Edward Hart—of considerably more than local fame, and describe the beauties of the scenery and sunsets, which seem to have made a deep and lasting impression on Mr. Malim and his wife.

Maurice.

The African Drum. Monthly Magazine. (Express House, 176, Main St., Johannesburg, S. Africa, 6d.) A popular illustrated magazine giving news of African activities (non-political) in all parts of the world and aiming to encourage Africans to make their distinctive contributions in the field of culture by seeking inspiration in African sources. News of Africans who speak European languages other than English is given. It is hoped that Europeans also will learn from the information in *The Drum*. The annual subscription is 9/-.

Parliament

Kenya: Agricultural Betterment Fund. In a reply to Mr. J. Hynd, Mr. Lyttelton said that the estimated balance in the Agricultural Betterment Fund was £560,578 on December 31, 1951. The Fund was used by the African District Councils to encourage the development of African agriculture (April 2). In reply to a further question on April 23, Mr. Hynd was informed that the funds were controlled and operated by the individual local authorities within the procedure laid down for the consideration and approval of the estimates of expenditure of African District Councils. In 1950, the actual expenditure was £194,520, of which approximately £95,000 was transferred to the general revenue of the various African District Councils concerned, at the specific request of these councils, for purposes such as expenditure on social services, schools and hospitals. The balance of approximately £99,000 had been utilised to encourage development of African agriculture. The main source of revenue to the Betterment Funds was the cess on maize which was voted by the African District Councils, the majority of whom in all cases were elected.

Corporal Punishment in Colonial Territories. Mr. Sorensen asked what further consultations had taken place and what progress had been made in respect of the diminution or abolition of corporal punishment as penalties inflicted on offenders in colonial territories; and what correlation there was between the reduction of the number of sentences of this form of punishment and the incidence of crime. In reply, Mr. Lyttelton said that most colonial Governments had now reported what action they considered could be taken in this matter. In ten territories corporal punishment for adults was not in force. Five others contended that it should be abolished and most of the rest proposed that further limitation should be placed upon the type of case in which it could be awarded. It was too early to hazard any estimate whatever of the recent changes on crime. (May 7.)

Exclusion of British Citizens. Sir Richard Acland asked what the general principles were upon which the Governors of Colonies could decide to exclude from their territories British citizens born in neighbouring colonial territories. In reply, Mr. Lyttelton said that in most colonies there was legislation providing that British subjects, as well as aliens, could be refused admission on certain specified grounds. In addition, there was usually a residuary power under which the Governor-in-Executive Council could refuse admission to any person who was considered to be an undesirable visitor. Decisions had been taken in the light of local conditions and on the merits of each case. (May 7.)

Public Services in Kenya. In reply to a question by Mr. Sorensen, on the differences of service, emoluments and amenities afforded to Africans, Indians and Europeans in the Kenya medical and civil services,

Mr. Lyttelton said that broadly speaking, conditions of service were based on the recommendations of the Holmes Commission, except that, apart from an element of expatriation allowance in European emoluments, the salary scales and conditions of service attached to the numerous grades had been assessed on the nature of the duties and not according to race. (May 7.)

Security Measures, Sungie Pelak, Malaya. In reply to a question by Mr. Woodrow Wyatt on collective punishment, Mr. Lyttelton said that there had been 32 terrorist attacks near Sungie Pelak in the last 11 months, and it had become clear that people inside the village had been supplying food. The measures that had been taken were not primarily punitive but had been intended to help the security forces in dealing with the bandit gangs. These measures included the removal of all surplus rice, the reduction of the ration by 40 per cent for a fortnight to absorb any household stocks, and strict control of future sales. There was a house curfew at night and a perimeter curfew from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. had been imposed for seven days. A new perimeter fence had been built to prevent food or other supplies being passed to terrorists, and to afford greater security to the people of the village. (May 14.)

Citizenship for Ex-Service Men in Malaya. Mr. Awbery asked if Federal citizenship would be granted to all men who applied for it after they had completed their period of national service. Mr. Lyttelton said that under the new citizenship legislation which had been passed by the Federal Legislative Council on May 8, the High Commissioner could grant Federal citizenship to any person who had honourably discharged after three years' full-time or four years' part-time service in the Federation Forces and who intended to settle permanently in the Federation. (May 14.)

Textile Imports; Lancashire and the Colonies. In reply to a question by Mr. Shepherd, Mr. Hopkinson said that the Governments of colonial territories had been asked, for balance of payments reasons, to limit imports from non-sterling sources, including Japan, to essentials, and already several territories had markedly reduced, and in some cases suspended, the issue of import licences for Japanese textiles. This should create an increased demand from the United Kingdom textiles of the right type and price, and the attention of colonial authorities had recently been drawn to the improvement this year in the ability of the U.K. cotton and rayon industries to make prompt deliveries at competitive prices. (May 21.)

Doctors and Nurses Trained in the United Kingdom. In reply to a question by Mr. Sorensen, Mr. Lyttelton said that approximately 260 doctors and 40 nurses had completed their training in this country since the war and had returned to their territories. (May 14.)

CORRESPONDENCE

Allegiance to the Crown

Dear Sir,

I have received the pamphlet *Advance to Democracy*. May I congratulate the authors. I hope it will get a wide circulation among our leaders at home, for it would help them a great deal.

But while I agree with the authors in almost everything they say, I find myself in disagreement on one point. It is at present only of academic importance, but it may become of practical importance in the future. 'Whatever other qualifications for voting might be required,' say the authors, 'it must be certain that every voter owes allegiance to the Crown and is prepared to abandon other loyalties. There should be no distinction between British subjects and British-protected persons.' In future, the Africans may want to know just what exactly is meant by 'the Crown' and 'allegiance to the Crown.' If by the Crown is meant the British Government, don't you think that the Africans may want to know whether the interests of the British Government are always the same as, and never can conflict with, those of Tanganyika, for instance? Don't you think that if a Tanganyika citizen—any citizen of Tanganyika, but an African citizen in particular—felt that the interests of the British Government and those of Tanganyika were at variance, his first loyalty would be to Tanganyika?

Supposing the House of Commons proposes a Bill for the federation of the three Central African territories. The Bill, let us say, is passed by both Houses of Parliament, and in spite of African protests receives the Royal Assent and becomes law. How in such a case would an African who owes allegiance to the Crown behave? Should the franchise laws of Central Africa require that his right to vote must depend upon his putting the interests of the British Government before those of his country? To a British subject such a law would merely be a bad law like any other bad law: it would provoke discontent but not

disloyalty. He would remain a loyal member of his nation, and since he and his fellow citizens have the right to make and unmake their Governments and their laws, all he can do is to co-operate with his fellow-subjects to change that law. Can the same be said of a protected person? Hardly. The Government that makes the laws is not his Government. He cannot hope to change it, for he never made it. To him such a law, depending upon its seriousness, would justify disloyalty and, if necessary and practicable, complete severance from the protecting authority. For a protected person necessarily has two loyalties—one to his country and another to his protector. His loyalty to his country must always come first, for it is natural and unconditional, as long as he remains a citizen of that country. But his loyalty to the protecting authority is only secondary, for it is conditional, depending on a treaty, actual or implied.

The distinction between a British subject and a British-protected person is not just a chimera of the imagination, but one founded on a political and historical fact. If it were removed, it would enable me to claim certain rights which all British citizens enjoy. But do my rights as a citizen of Tanganyika depend upon whether or not I am a British subject? A Tanganyika citizen may not wish to be a British subject. It is true that I claim certain rights enjoyed by British subjects at home. But I do not claim them as rights enjoyed by British subjects as such, any more than I would claim rights enjoyed by Peruvian or Chinese subjects. I claim only those rights enjoyed by Tanganyika citizens, and as a matter of fact some of these happen to be British subjects and others British-protected persons.

Yours faithfully,

Julius K. Nyerere.

Edinburgh.

[The point referred to in the pamphlet is not wholly applicable to Tanganyika, since this is a Trust Territory. Nevertheless, Mr. Nyerere's letter expresses, amongst others, a view on the Crown which is often held by Africans. We suspend comment on his letter in the hope that the very interesting points he raises will provoke replies from others of our readers.—ED.]

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